601 /1/ A Preliminary Study of the Atayal Kinship of Pinsebukan, Taiwan (Formosa) China

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The study of kinship system in anthropology is built upon the classification of kinship terms (kinship nomenclature). Although classification is not the ultimate aim of kinship system study, it is nevertheless the only method by which simple terminology can be employed to explain the characteristics and correlations of complicated kinship terms. Hence, to study the Atayal kinship system it is necessary first to understand its kinship terms. In July last year, when I participated in the Pinsebukan Anthropological Survey, financed by Lin's Educational Farm Fund, I had listed in advance kinship terms as one of the items for survey. Before the surveying party set off, Mr. Lin Heng-li was kind enough to furnish me with data, not yet published, of his survey of the kinship terms of Atayal in Wu Lai-she near Chia Ban Shan of Hsing Chu district, requesting that I supplement them with my findings. On arrival in Pinsebukan, a few hours after I had examined the family register, I made inquiries and checks, item by item, on the basis of Mr. Lin's data and supplements were made thereto. Because of the limited time, the supplements made were far from complete and inclusive. As I hoped that another opportunity might present itself for a more comprehensive survey, I have not, for over one year, undertaken to compile the materials I gathered. Now that the editor of this magazine has pressed me for an article, I find no alternative but to have the data, though not sufficiently detailed and inclusive, compiled and edited for publication. I shall appreciate corrections that may come from readers

I.

Elucidation of the Atayal Kinship Terms

The following elucidation of the Atayal kinship term, using as a basis Mr. Lin's survey record, has taken into account the report by Wassao-Nokan, former 4th Chieftain of Pinsebukan and Head of Li-hsing Village, Jen-ai County, Chung-feng Region, Tai-chung District and corrections from time to time by his wife, Yongai-Nabo. Translations were done by Ho Ting-sui and Sung Wen-hsun, of the

History Department of National Taiwan University and were subse- 601
quently recorded by the author. We now group their male-speaking and female-speaking kinship terms under two categories, consanguineal and affinal, and explain each separately as follows:

I. Male speaker's (ego's) consanguineal relatives and their spouses

A. Two generations higher (ascending):

1. father of parents: yutas (father's father or mother's father)
2. mother of parents: yaki (father's mother or mother's mother)

Note: Designations for 3 or more generations higher are the same except for prefixing "yaba" (father) or "yaya" (mother) together with "ni" (possessive case) to yutas or yaki when differentiating lineal generations ascending, e.g., yaba-ni-yutas for father of father's father or father of mother's father; yaya-ni-yutas for mother of father's father or mother of mother's father, etc.

B. One generation higher (ascending):

3. father: yaba
4. mother: yaya
5. parents' older and younger brothers and husbands of parents' older and younger sisters: mama
6. parents' older and younger sisters and parents' older and younger brothers' wives: yaki

Note: In B above, are suffixed with miravai ("first line"), minpusai (second line), yai/ minteyul (third line) to differentiate between the close and distant relationship; e.g. mama-mihaol, /parents' brother or parental sister's husband/; mama-minpusai, /parent's male first cousin/; mama-minteyul /parent's male second cousin/.

C. Same generation:

7. ego's spouse: ɔ̃ɔ̃neril (wife)
8. older brother and older sister: ɔ̃ɔ̃busuyan
9. younger brother and younger sister: ɔ̃ɔ̃soi

Note: In B 8, 9 above, for differentiating sexes, suffix "melikui" (male) or "ɔ̃ɔ̃neril" (female) to ɔ̃ɔ̃busuyan or ɔ̃ɔ̃soi; e.g. "ɔ̃ɔ̃busuyan-melikui" for older brother; "ɔ̃ɔ̃busuyan-ɔ̃ɔ̃neril" for older sister; for differentiating close or distant relationship, suffix "bulai" (real) or "mineyul" (first line), "minpusai" (second line), or "minteyul" (third line) to ɔ̃ɔ̃busuyan or ɔ̃ɔ̃soi; e.g. "ɔ̃ɔ̃busuyan-bulai"

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or "qəbusuyan-minəxal" for ego's own older brother and sister; "qəbusuyan-minpusal" for older first cousin; "qəbusuyan-minteyul" for older second cousin. The same rule applies to "səsoi".

10. wife of ego's own older brother or of ego's elder male cousin; inax (sister-in-law)
11. wife of ego's own younger brother or of ego's younger male cousin; soaqi
12. yanai - husband of ego's own older or younger sister, or husband of a female cousin
13. nawin - a common designation for addressing each other among male first and second cousins.
14. naqun - older and younger sister, female first or second cousins.

II. One generation lower (descending).

15. laqei - son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, sister's son and daughter, wife's sister's son and daughter, wife's brother's son and daughter

Note: For differentiating sex suffix "malaki" (male) or "hanai" (female) to laqei, e.g. laqei-malaki for son; laqei-kaneril for daughter; for indicating blood relationship suffix "na" (possessive) "qəbusuyan" or "səsoi" to laqei, e.g. laqei-na-qəbusuyan for son and daughter of an older brother, sister, or first cousin. laqei-na-səsoi for son and daughter of a younger brother, sister, or first cousin. For two generations lower relationship terms to base on those for one generation lower given above excepting when indicating lines descending, to suffix "na" (possessive) "laqei" (son and daughter) to "laqei", e.g. "laqei-na-laqei" for son's son or daughter, daughter's son or daughter etc.

16. ina - used for wife of son, brother's son, sister's son and of all male relations descending named in 15 above.
17. yama - used for husband of all female relations descending named in 15 above.

/3/ Note: Regarding kinship terms in 16, 17 above use the rule governing "laqei" for indicating lineal and collateral relations.

II. Male speaker's (ego's) affinal relatives and their spouse (wife's blood relations) 601

A. One generation higher (ascending):

1. wife's father: yutas (father-in-law)
2. wife's mother: yaki (mother-in-law)

Note: Father-in-law and mother-in-law's older and younger brothers and older and younger sisters' husband are all called "yutas"; father-in-law's and mother-in-law's older and younger sisters and older and younger brothers' wives are called "yaki".

B. Same generation relationship:

3. wife's brother (younger and older): yanai
4. wife's older sister and older brother's wife: irax
5. wife's younger sister and younger brother's wife: soaqi
6. wife's older and younger sisters' husbands: mawan

C. One generation lower (descending):

7. wife's older and younger brothers' son and daughte... laqei-na-yanai
8. wife's older sister's son or daughter: laqei-na-irax.
9. wife's younger sister's son or daughter: laqei-na-soaqi.

Note: The three terms in 7, 8, and 9 are generally designated as "laqei", same as son and daughter; only when differentiation is absolutely required is "na-yanai" or "na-irax" or "na-soaqi" suffixed.

The above explanation does not cover ascendants of two generations higher as the kinship terms are the same as with ascendants of one generation higher. Wife's brother's son's wife and wife's sister's son's wife are both called "ina". wife's brother's daughter's husband and wife's sister's daughter's husband are both called "yama". Unless differentiation is necessary "na-yanai" or "na-irax" or "na-soaqi" is suffixed. (Translator's remark: there appears to be some misprint in this paragraph as the meaning is obscure).

III. Female speaker's (ego's) consanguineal relations and their spouses

601 A. Same generation

1. ego's spouse: melikui (husband)
2. wives of ego's younger brother or male cousin: yango
3. husbands of ego's older sister or female cousin: nana
4. husbands of younger sister or female cousin: soaqi
5. older and younger brothers, male first and second cousins: nəqun.
6. female first and second cousins: langi.

Note: The above explanation is limited to ego's generation kinship. For ascending and descending generations the kinship terms are same as those of a male speaker and are therefore not repeated. Also, in ego's generation, older brother and sister (qəbusuyan), younger brother and sister (səsoi), and older brother's wife (irax) are designated by the same kinship terms as for a male speaker /4/ and are not repeated. The two kinship terms "nəqun" and "soaqi" though they may be used by the male, are to address females; when used by a female speaker, they are to address males.

IV. The female speaker's (ego's)affinal (husband's consanguineal) relations and their spouses:

A. One generation higher:

1. husband's father: yutas.
2. husband's mother: yaki.

Note: father-in-law's and mother-in-law's older and younger brothers and older and younger sisters' husbands: yutas; father-in-law's and mother-in-law's older and younger sisters and older and younger brother's wives: yaki. Kinship terms for two generations higher are based on those for one generation higher.

B. Ego's generation kinship:

3. husband's older brother and older sister's husband: nana.
4. husband's younger brother and younger sister's husband: soaqi.
5. husband's older sister and older brother's wife: irax.
6. husband's younger sister and husband's younger brother's wife: yango.

C. One generation lower kinship: 601

7. husband's older brother's son and daughter: laqei-na-nana.
8. husband's younger brother's son and daughter: laqei-na-soaqi.
9. husband's older sister's son and daughter: laqei-na-irax.
10. husband's younger sister's son and daughter: laqei-na-yango.

Note: The kinship terms in 7, 8, and 9 above are generally designated by a simple "laqei"; only when differentiation necessary is "na-nana", or "na-irax" or "na-yango" suffixed.

The above explanation does not cover kinship of two generations higher as the terms are the same as in one generation higher. Wives of husband's brother's son and husband's sister's son are both called ina; husbands of husband's brother's daughter and husband's sister's daughter are both called yama. Unless differentiation is necessary, do not suffix "na-nana," "na-soaqi," or "na-irax" "na-yango", etc., thereto.

II.

/5/ General Explanation of Nuclear Kinship Terms of Atayal

The kinship terms explained in the preceding chapter can be grouped into 22 basic terms, namely, ascending generation kinship, 6; same generation kinship, 13; descending generation kinship, 3. Now let us again explain them one by one.

A. Ascending generations:

1. Yutas (meaning "old man") - (1) used by both sexes to address male consanguineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation, father of parent, i. e., grandfather on the father's or mother's side; (2) used by the male to address affinal males of the first ascending generation, i. e., wife's father, his brothers, and his sisters' husbands; (3) used by the female to address affinal males of the first ascending generation, i. e., husband's father, his brothers, and his sisters' husbands.
2. Yaki (meaning "old woman") - (1) used by both sexes to

601 address consanguineal females of the second ascending generation, i.e., mother of parent; (2) used by the male to address affinal females of the first ascending generation, i.e., wife's mother, wife's father's sisters and his brothers' wives; (3) used by the female to address consanguineal females of the first ascending generation, i.e., husband's mother, husband's father's sisters and his brothers' wives.

3. Yaba (meaning "big")- used by both sexes to address consanguineal and lineal males of one generation ascending, i.e., father.

4. Yaya (meaning "close") - used by both sexes to address consanguineal and lineal females, i.e., mother.

5. Mama (original meaning not available) - used by both sexes to address collateral male kinsmen of the first ascending generation, i.e., parents' brothers and parents' sisters' husbands.

6. Yaya (original meaning not available) - used by both sexes to address collateral female kinsmen of the first ascending generation, i.e., parents' sisters and parents' brothers' wives.

B. Same generation:

7. Məlikui (meaning "man") - used by woman to address her own spouse or husband.

8. Kənerii (meaning "woman") - used by man to address his own spouse or wife.

9. Qəbusuyan (meaning "elder") - used by both sexes to address kinsmen of the same generation but older in age without distinction as to sex, i.e., older brother, sister, or first cousin.

10. Səsoi ("younger") - used by both sexes to address kinsmen of the same generation but younger in age without distinction as to sex, i.e., younger brother, sister, or first cousin.

11. Rawin (meaning "dear") - used exclusively by males to address collateral kinsmen of the same sex and generation without distinction as to age; i.e., male first or second cousin, male sibmate.

12. Langi (meaning "friendly") - used exclusively by females to address collateral kinsmen of same sex and generation

without distinction of age; i. e., female first or second cousin, female sibmate. 601

/6/ 13. Nəqun (Meaning "connecting") - (1) used by males to address kinsmen of the same generation but opposite sex without distinction as to age, i. e., older and younger sisters, female first or second cousins, female sibmates; (2) used by females to address kinsmen of the same generation but of opposite sex without regard to age, i. e., older and younger brothers, male first or second cousins, male sibmates.

14. irax (original meaning not available) - (1) used by both sexes to address female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., older brother's wife, wife of older male cousin; (2) used by males to address older female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., wife's older sister, wife's older brother's wife, etc.; (3) used by females to address female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., husband's older sister, husband' older brother's wife, etc.

15. noaq (original meaning not available) - (1) used by males to address female affinal relatives of the same generation, i. e., younger brother's wife, wives of younger male cousins; also used to address egos' wife's younger sister and wife's younger brother's wife; (2) used by females to address affinal males of the same generation, i. e., younger sister's husband, husbands of younger female cousins: also used to address ego's husband's younger brother and husband's younger sister's husband, etc.

16. ŋəŋo (original meaning not available) - used by females to address affinal females of the same generation, i. e., younger brother's wife, wives of younger male cousins; also to address ego's husband's younger sister and husband's younger brother's wife, etc.

17. nana (original meaning not available) - used by females to address affinal males of same generation, i. e., older sister's husband and husbands of older female cousins; also to address husband's older brother and husband's older sister's husband, etc.

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18. yanai (original meaning not available) - used by males to address affinal males of same generation, i.e., older and younger sisters' husbands, husbands of older and younger female cousins.
19. mawam (original meaning not available) - used by males to address affinal males of same generation, i.e., wife's older and younger sisters' husbands.

C. Descending generations

20. laqei (meaning "child") - used by both sexes to address kinsmen of descending generations without regard to sex, i.e., son and daughter, son's son and daughter, daughter's son and daughter, brother's son and daughter, sister's son and daughter; also used by males only to address wife's brother's son and daughter and wife's sister's son and daughter.
21. ina (meaning "married over") - used by both sexes to address affinal females of descending generations, i.e., son's wife, brother's son's wife and sister's son's wife; also used by males to wife's brother's son's wife and wife's sister's son's wife.
22. yama (original meaning not available) - used by both sexes to address affinal males of descending generations, i.e., daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, etc.,; also used by males to address wife's brother's daughter's husband, wife's sister's daughter's husband.

The above twenty two (22) kinship terms are applicable to relations within three generations, higher and lower, from ego's generation. Kinsmen within these three generations who are of the same generation status such as: great grandparents' older and younger brothers' and sisters' son's and daughter's son's and daughter's son and daughter, grandparents' older and younger brothers' and sisters' son's and daughter's son and daughter, /7/parents' older and younger brothers' and sisters' son and daughter, are addressed reciprocally between male and female as "naqun" and marriage between them is impossible. Kinsmen of the same generation status beyond four generations cease relationship (spayatas

xəlɔq) and therefore can not be addressed as "nɔqun"; 601
marriage is permissible between them without regard to the generation status.